2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

871 Service, one Presbyterian and three Catholic boarding schools, and a few public schools. Teachers on the Reservation are white persons or thoroughly acculturated Indians of other tribes, and the majority are women.

In 1941–42, the last school year before a great number of families left the reservations for war work, 1,469 Papago children were enrolled in school. Of these, 222 were under six or over eighteen years of age, so that only 1,247 of the 1,681 children of school age were enrolled. However, this number included 285 children who had enrolled in more than one school during the year or were living permanently off the reservations, so that 719 school-age children (about 44 per cent of the total) were not enrolled in any school during the year.[3]

Furthermore, attendance of the children who did enrol was very sporadic, the daily average of all schools being only 460 despite the fact that transportation is provided for those who need it. There were many reasons for such poor attendance: some of the schools are poorly located; many families take their children with them for seasonal work off the Reservation; and some need the help of their children with crops and herds. Two villages still migrate annually between fields and mountains. Furthermore, no pressure is exerted by parents on children who do not wish to go to school, and there is no official requirement compelling them to do so.[4]

191 The problem of curriculum and method is as difficult as that of attendance.
871 The great majority of Papago children know at most only a few words of English when they enter school. Only a third of the adults speak it; perhaps a tenth can read and write it, and a negligible number do so habitually. In the two western districts when this study was made, no Papago over forty spoke English; only ten of the parent generation did so, and, of these, four subsequently moved off the Reservation. As a general rule, even parents who know English seldom use it in the home, hence the child's first years of schooling must be mainly devoted to learning the language in which he is taught.

871 In the government schools the official aim is to aid the development of the child's personality and his adjustment to the world in which he will live, whether on or off the Reservation. The immediate focus is upon teaching the children how to make a living, to understand and make use of white culture. Methods are generally of the less extreme "progressive" type, and efforts are made to use teaching materials directly from Reservation life. Religious in-

3. Data from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Reservations, Sells Agency, Arizona*, p. 30.

4. Since the period of this study, the tribal council has voted to make school attendance compulsory (Tribal Ordinance No. 11, January 29, 1945). The present superintendent reports that "efforts to enforce this ordinance in some areas have been successful."

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

struction by missionaries is permitted one hour a week, with the children divided according to the creed of their parents, but none are forced to attend. Corporal punishment is forbidden.

The success of this method naturally depends heavily upon the interest and ability of the individual teachers and their supervisors. Teaching shy children of varying ages and attainments in a language which is not their own is difficult, to say the least. Understanding of and sympathy for a culture so different from the teacher's own are not to be acquired merely by good will. They are essential, however, to success in teaching and living in an Indian village, for the school is intended to be a community center as well as a place for children to learn "the three R's." Teachers are encouraged to organize adult classes in English and in various phases of homemaking and agriculture, and they often act as liaison between the people and the Agency. They give social services on an informal basis: they use the school phone to summon a doctor or get his advice for the sick; they often supply transportation to the villagers; they write letters; sometimes their advice is sought in personal problems. Some teachers occasionally help in farming. A few have entered into the life of the community, studied and recorded the ways of the village, started various enterprises, and in almost every phase of village life have made their influence felt. Most teachers do not reach this integration with the community; but, whatever the relationship, the teacher in the more isolated village may be one of the few white people with whom the Indians have much contact. Thus the attitude of the people toward her often determines their attitude toward white society.

The aims of the mission schools, on the other hand, are largely religious. Their methods are more like those of parochial schools in other parts of the country, with standard textbooks and materials not particularly suited to the experience or temperament of Indian children. Corporal punishment is used. In the Catholic schools the mien of the teaching sisters is rather distant, and instant obedience is demanded. These teachers have little to do with Indians other than their pupils, but the supervisor of the Catholic schools is much closer to the people than is the Reservation principal. In his capacity as priest, he has continual contact with his parishioners, as do the other Fathers, one of whom has learned the Papago language.

Formal schooling on any very large scale is too new among the Papago to make possible any valid evaluation of the results of either government or religious schools. It may be significant, however, that more children from government than from mission schools go on to institutions of higher education.

It is obvious that much needs to be done before adequate education is avail-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

871 able to all Papago children. At present there is no secondary education on the reservations, and, although high-school subjects are offered at both government and religious boarding schools in the vicinity, attendance at these schools is limited by the fact that they necessitate children being away from home for long periods. The extension of the present system to provide junior high schools and a central senior high school at Sells, with boarding facilities for those who need it, has been proposed by the Agency. The argument for the latter is that children in villages too remote for daily bus transportation and those whose parents work off the reservations for long periods would attend more regularly if there were boarding facilities at day schools. Another pressing need is some general supervision of all schools, so that a co-ordinated and consistent educational program may be offered.

Proposals for the improvement of Papago education do not emanate solely from the Agency staff, for most of the Papago want some sort of schooling for their children, as they realize the value and the practical necessity of speaking English. Thus it is the rare family that does not make some effort to send its children to school. However, it is also the rare family that sends them regularly and gives them the kind of push and encouragement that many white children receive. Adults see some of the values of schooling, but they leave it to the children to make the effort to attain these values.

871 But the Papago are by no means completely satisfied with the type of education available on the Reservation. In the past, schools were established without 186 regard to the wishes of the villages, and there was strong resistance in some areas; therefore, in recent years schools have been set up only on request. For example, the Hickiwan District school was established at the request of a few families, but until very recently it was opposed by several other families who so controlled the rest of the population that a very small proportion of the children attended. These conservatives saw the school as a symbol of encroachment, one of the improvements which might make their land more desirable to whites and as one of the many techniques of the white man for doing away with Indian life. The controversy led to actual hostilities. Now, however, opposition has died down, and about half the children attend. The families in this district who send their children to school are those who see the material advantages to be gained. They have no intention of giving up "being Indian," but they believe that being able to speak English *when necessary* will bring better jobs, more money, clothes, amusements, and food luxuries—things they have come to esteem and desire.

871 Even the more acculturated Papago are not usually in full accord with the aims and methods of government schools. Many of them went to the old

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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government and religious boarding schools whose aim was to make Indians as rapidly as possible into white men. Strict and often military discipline prevailed. Papago who went to these schools often feel that the present government schools do not make the pupils work hard enough and that discipline is lax. The boys, they say, are not receiving the rigorous training for leadership that they themselves acquired. They admit, however, that the present religious schools, where more conservative curriculum and strict discipline prevail, do not produce leaders either; they train for obedience rather than leadership.

How much the education offered in either the religious or the Indian Service schools "takes" appears to be partly a matter of the child's attitude and that of his parents. Many who have been in school learned so little that their schooling seems to have made little difference to them. On the other hand, most of the village chiefs and the rising leaders are men who have learned to speak English in school, and the majority of them come from districts where schools are well established. In such districts are seen the tin roofs, stoves, refrigerators, cars, and radios of the more acculturated Papago, the desire for which is often acquired in school. There is also evident among the Papago who have been to school a tendency to mingle more freely with people other than relatives. School friendships are helping to break down the old barriers between kin and nonkin and thus are helping to make the Papago more one people.

PAPAGO HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

One of the prime objectives of the Agency is to improve Papago health. The birth rate on the three reservations in 1943 was estimated at 42.3 per thousand population, as compared with 23.9 for all United States Indians, and 19.5 for the country as a whole. But the estimated death rate was 32.5 per thousand, as against 13.3 for all Indians, and 10.5 for the United States. In proportion to population, many more Papago babies are born than white, but a much larger proportion die; infant mortality in 1943 is believed to have been 258 per thousand live births as against 40 for the country as a whole. Tuberculosis is exceedingly common; while the exact incidence is not known for lack of examination facilities, the mortality rate was estimated at at least 300 per 100,000 populaton, on the basis of diagnosed cases alone, or about seven times the rate for the country as a whole. Nutritional diseases and bad teeth are also common.[5]

To cope with these medical problems, the Agency has one thirty-eight-bed hospital at Sells,[6] with a normal staff of one white senior physician and six

5. For a discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.
6. This hospital burned down in the summer of 1947.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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households where there are no adult females or older sister, a girl of this age may have considerable responsibility for a younger brother or sister. Even a very small girl is extremely proud of this assignment, for she is thereby first placed in a position of authority. She spends much time looking after him at home and must carry him on her hip when she plays away from the house, but the little girl seldom resents the comparative restriction of her movements or the fact that, if she does not indulge the baby, his howls will bring his mother's interference and rebuke. Resentment toward the mother is forestalled by the young girl's claim to indulgence from an older child and by right of appeal to her mother if it is not granted.

It is clear that under this system no one child can be the object of favoritism throughout life.[3] And, yet, identical behavior toward each child at a given time is likewise impossible, since the treatment of an individual is always relative to his age position. No question of unfairness or favoritism is raised either by parents or by children.

GOING TO SCHOOL

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We have seen that the Papago child is at liberty to make many decisions for himself which, in white society, ordinarily are in the province of parents. One of these decisions is whether he will go to school or not.[4] In reaching a conclusion, he probably has certain conflicts to resolve: he is likely to be shy of white people, an attitude which may be reinforced by distrust if his family belongs to a conservative group; on the other hand, older children tell him that going to school is fun because it gives opportunity for knowing children from other villages and for being away from one's own home and the work to be done there; further, they say, white people are novel and interesting creatures, even if a little fearful. The child usually makes up his mind without pressure from his family. In the eastern districts most young children now expect to go to school, and their parents encourage them to do so, and in the West an increasing number of small children are enrolled.

Even after he has decided to go, the child is often under no pressure from his family to attend regularly (see chap. vii). If he goes to school in another village, he travels by bus, the driver of which acts as truant officer. Many drivers coax the children to attend every day and conscientiously report reasons for absence, but they never threaten or command a child.

3. The few cases of deliberate favoritism which appear are apparently due to special circumstances. The writer observed only two. In both cases the favored child was an only son and the youngest child. Both mothers had previously lost sons, and their devotion seemed to be centered in the surviving one.

4. The field work on which this study is based was done before the tribal council made school attendance compulsory (see chap. vii).

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

10,235 acres within the Gila Bend Reservation, a total of 2,855,920 acres."

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No changes of any importance in Papago land holdings have been made since 1944, but a very important change in the nature of Indian title came about in 1955 when, by Act of Congress, the Papago were given all mineral, as well as surface, rights to the reservation.

The history of the establishment of the Papago reservations reveals how recently the large majority of Papago have been directly exposed to non-Indian health, education, religious, and other programs. It was not until 1917 that the first federal school was established on the main reservation at Sells and it was not until after 1917 that any attempt was made to develop Papago resources.

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The decades following 1910 also saw a renewal of Catholic missionary work and the commencement of Protestant missionary work. The history of the modern influence of Christianity on the reservations is reported by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky (1949):

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> "For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters marKo Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the reservations for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the reservation,

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members of Congress were able to bring about the third event in Papago history: The appropriation by Congress of reasonably adequate funds which would make possible the program of Indian development which had its start in the early 1930's. In education, programs for the establishment of a new public school at Sells, adequate school bus service reaching isolated communities, and the construction of a day school and boarding school at Santa Rosa, have been completed only in the last ten years. Even though there had been a small hospital at Sells prior to 1947, serious programs in health education and preventive medicine were not introduced until about ten years ago. This was followed by the construction of a modern 50-bed hospital in 1960.

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The recent history of the building of school facilities and records of school attendance on the Papago Reservation, provides the perspective against which to judge the inadequacy of training and experience which will handicap the adult Papago population in the years ahead. As recently as 1945 only about 800 children of school age were attending classes in public, federal and mission schools. Another 450 were enrolled but not attending classes and 800 Papago children were not enrolled in any school. In brief, considerably fewer than half of the eligible Papago children were in regular school attendance by the end of World War II. The deficiency, thanks to a variety of federal, state, and Catholic mission school programs has now been almost entirely corrected.

force, compared with 68% among those living off the reservation. The difference is in the number of Papagos who are unemployed or who live on unearned income: 358 with unearned income live on the reservation, compared with 32 off the reservation and 174 unemployed persons live on the reservation, compared with 80 off the reservation.

Employment and Education, Age and Origin. Among the administrative population, 19 years of age and older, 34% has had no education or has not gone beyond the fourth grade in school, 39% has had a fifth grade through eighth grade education, and 28% has had one year of high school education or more. Less than one percent has attended college and less than one percent has had formal vocational training. Comparable percentages for the United States as a whole in 1959 among individuals 18 years of age and older are: no education or less than five years, 7%, up to eight years of education, 27%, up to twelve years of education, 48%. Sixteen percent of the adult United States population has attended or completed college, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1959).

The Papago level of education is no surprise when the history of formal education on the reservation is known. It does come as somewhat of a surprise, however, to learn that Indians with a few more years of education find better jobs and steadier jobs than those that have had less than four years in school. The data are in Tables 19, 20, and 21. The reason can perhaps be traced to better facility in English which would be expected of the Papagos who have received an education beyond the fourth grade. The data, however, are contrary to similar information secured on the Colorado River Reservation (Kelly, 1959). Seasonal agricultural workers have a lower than average percentage of individuals who have completed the fourth grade while non-agricultural wage workers are above the average. Only seven percent of the skilled off reservation wage workers have had less than five years in school (See Table 20).

[text continues on P. 109]

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Table 19. Papago Administrative Population by Employment and Level of Education. Individuals 19 and Over, 1959.

Type of Employment	No Education	1 to 4 yrs.	5 to 8 yrs.	9 to 12 yrs.	College	Vocational	TOTAL	No Data
ON RESERVATION								
Agriculture	44	73	91	44	2	0	254	5
Non-Agri. Wage Work	5	18	62	76	3	4	168	0
Other	11	6	10	4	0	0	31	3
Housewives	101	142	216	89	0	0	548	13
Unearned Income	152	82	94	18	0	0	346	12
Unemployed	29	36	63	43	0	1	172	2
ON AND OFF RESERVATION								
Agri. on, Seasonal Agri. Wage Work off	66	88	118	20	0	0	292	2
Other	1	10	24	6	0	0	41	0
OFF RESERVATION								
Agri. Wage Work								
Seasonal	88	136	141	50	0	0	415	7
Permanent	43	101	219	59	3	0	425	9
Non-Agri. Wage Work								
Unskilled	21	79	380	298	6	5	789	17
Skilled	1	4	8	45	10	5	73	4
Housewives	30	83	219	171	4	2	509	24
Unearned Income	11	3	10	8	0	0	32	0
Students	0	8	24	114	7	11	164	3
Unemployed	7	18	30	21	0	0	76	4
TOTAL	610	887	1709	1066	35	28	4335	105
Unknown Employment	8	23	33	117	10	5	218	772

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Table 20. The Papago Administrative Population Percentage of Individuals at Each Level of Education by Type of Employment. 19 Years and over, 1959.

Type of Employment	No Education	1 to 4 yrs.	5 to 8 yrs.	9 to 12 yrs.	College	Vocational
ON RESERVATION	%	%	%	%	%	%
Agriculture	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0
Non. Agri. Wage Work	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
Other	35.5	19.3	32.3	13.0	0	0
Housewives	18.4	25.9	39.4	16.2	0	0
Unearned Income	43.9	23.7	27.2	5.2	0	0
Unemployed	16.9	20.9	36.6	25.0	0	0.6
ON AND OFF RESERVATION						
Agri. on, Seasonal Agri. Wage Work off	22.6	30.1	40.4	6.8	0	0
Other	2.4	24.4	38.6	14.6	0	0
OFF RESERVATION						
Agri. Wage Work						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0	0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0
Non-Agri. Wage Work						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8
Housewives	5.9	16.3	43.0	33.6	0.8	0.4
Unearned Income	34.4	9.4	31.2	25.0	0	0
Students	0	4.9	14.6	69.6	4.3	6.7
Unemployed	9.2	23.7	39.5	27.6	0	0
TOTAL	14.1	20.5	39.4	24.6	0.8	0.6

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Similar correlations between education and employment apply to workers who have had at least one year in high school. The proportion for the entire administrative population, 19 years of age and older, is 28%. The proportion for on-reservation wage workers is 49%, for unskilled off-reservation wage workers it is 39% and for skilled off-reservation wage workers it is more than 61%.

Papagos who work off the reservation at more or less full time jobs are better educated than those who work on the reservation. The comparative percentages are in table 21.

Table 21. Papago Administrative Population by Place of Employment and Education. Individuals 19 and over, 1959.

Place of Employment	No Education	1-4 Years	5-8 Years	9-12 Years	College	Vocational
On Reservation						
Agricultural	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
On & Off Reservation						
Agricultural	22.6	30.1	40.4	6.8	0.0	0.0
Off Reservation						
Agricultural						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8

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The differences in level of education between men and women is very slight and for various categories of employment the numbers involved are too small to have any great significance. Men in off-reservation skilled work are, on the whole, better educated than women in the same category with 84% of the men and 76% of the women having better than a ninth grade education. The numbers involved are 42 and 18 respectively. Housewives are better educated than the average

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 86% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

opportunities until those are exhausted. At this point they turn to outside employment. A full half of the members of the tribe have made this move on a more or less permanent basis and another thirty percent make the move on a seasonal or temporary basis. This is the direction of Papago adjustment and its most encouraging aspect is the fact that it is a case of self-adjustment, uninfluenced in any important respect by forces outside the interests and goals of the Indians themselves. This is not to say that they like it. This study, and every other study of the Papagos, has shown that they accept a removal from their reservation villages only with greatest reluctance; partly because they prefer to live in a familiar environment and near their friends and kinsmen, and partly because they do not have the background in education and experience which would assist them in facing the many problems of life in a strange environment. Neither do they have the background in education and experience which would permit the more intensive development of reservation income opportunities, thus permitting larger numbers of Indians to remain on the reservations and at the same time enjoy a more acceptable standard of living.

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There are many factors involved in the solution of the economic problems which have been presented in this report. We have presented data on the level of formal education and the range of work experience. The generation of adults now seeking employment did not attend school at all, or were in school only a few years when they were children. Their origin is predominantly from reservation villages and their work experience has been almost exclusively in agricultural or common labor employment.

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These are the outstanding handicaps with which they must contend, and they are the handicaps, even though less severe, with which their children will have to contend.

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The situation is one in which necessary conditions for improvement can be clearly defined without, at the moment, being diverted by the heat of

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalisation of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

HOW the Papago Indians Work

THE FAMILY--

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The approximately 2,000 Desert People who move out into the cotton fields from their reserves to work do not move alone. The family--father, mother and children--moves as a unit.

> "It should be emphasized that, although a larger percentage of his income is obtained from work off the reservation, the Papago wage worker is not generally a footloose migratory laborer according to the usual pattern in the United States. The Papago laborer usually takes his family with him and maintains his home on the reservation."[1]

(162) The Papago family living in Pinal and Pima county labor camps in 1950 averaged some 4⅓ persons,[2] making the total number of Desert People living in labor camps at the peak of the cotton harvesting season in the neighborhood of 4,500.

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The usual Papago family in a labor camp included a father and mother and two or three children. Families with children had 3 oftener than 2.[3] About 60% of the Papago families working in the cotton fields brought school children with them from the reserves.[4] What this meant to public schools in the trading centers of the cotton growing area may be deduced from the fact that families with school-age children had on the average 1.6 such offspring to be taught in the schools.[5] If both father and mother work, this means school authorities in the cotton-growing areas of Pima and Pinal counties should expect to provide educational facilities for .8 Papago school children for approximately 60% of the total number of Papago harvesters.

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.
[2] 47 families had 208 persons, an average of 4.43 individuals in each family. (Actually these families included some additional persons not enumerated.)
[3] 28 families with children had 64, averaging 2.8857.
[4] of 31 families giving information, 18 brought school-age children to the camps, or 58.1%.
[5] The 18 families brought 29 school-age children.

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognise these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

437 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
● 871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
888 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
[462] the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.

The Papagos are not addicted to
intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-vah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 2 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 30 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August, to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Aravaipi, Chilion, Chirikahwa, Coicotero, Mimbres, Mogollon, Mohevi, Pinal, San Carlos, Santa, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,538,000 acres, or 3,900 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 2,121; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,920; total Apaches, 4,041; Mohave reservation, 351; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,632.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,900 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 53 feet, used as a meal shop, $800; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $300; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 434-440. The population is the result of the census.